

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 1, 1849.

NOTICE.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper, or for publication, should be addressed to G. HALL, Jr., Editor, Washington, D. C.

MR. CALHOUN'S STATISTICS.

Concerning the force in Mexico, are effectually exposed in the speech of Mr. Smart on our fourth page.

A REQUEST.

Subscribers who do not file or preserve the *Era* will confer a great favor on us by sending any copies of the paper they may have seen the 1st of January.

THE TERMS.

We again call the attention of our readers to the following extract from the "Terms" of the *Era*:

Every subscriber renewing his subscription, and sending us two new subscribers, shall have the three copies for \$5?

A subscriber sends us \$5 for three new subscribers, and thinks he carries out the spirit of the proposition. Undoubtedly. A postmaster, not a subscriber, also sends us three new subscribers on the same terms, presuming that we will not object. Certainly not. The only difference between these cases, and those in which subscribers pay their money to agents, is that in the former the subscribers secure to themselves the benefit of the commission. This does not interfere with our regular agents, but rather helps them by multiplying our readers, and thus extending the field for their operations.

We hope each subscriber, as his subscription runs out, will bear in mind that, by a little exertion, he may secure two new subscribers, and supply himself and them for \$5.

THE LAW AND THE FACT.

We observed lately in the Washington correspondence of the *New York Evening Post*, that although the *Era* had a larger circulation than the *Union*, or perhaps the *Intelligencer*, its application for the advertising of the Departments had been repeatedly denied.

We are not in the habit of going to the *Era* to publish its grievances, but we may as well state the Law and the Fact.

The law requires that the advertising of the Executive Departments of the Government shall be done in the two newspapers in Washington having the largest list of permanent subscribers.

The mandate is peremptory and unqualified. Believing, on what we deemed sufficient grounds, that the *Era* had a larger circulation than one of the papers, if not the other, in which the printing is done, we made repeated applications last year and the year before, to the President, by letter and in person, and to the Heads of Departments, as instructed by him, specifying the Law, producing the required evidence of the extent of our circulation, and asking that our claim for said printing, under the law, might be examined, and, if valid, recognized. This course was dictated, not by unfriendly feelings towards our neighbors, but by an anxiety to obtain profitable advertisements, but chiefly from a determination to have our legal rights recognized.

Our repeated applications have received no attention—not the slightest disposition has been manifested to look into the justice of our claim, or to carry out faithfully the law. And yet, so far as we have ascertained, the extent of our circulation, (we mean of copies sent to paying subscribers,) entitles us under the law to the printing of the Departments.

In connection with this subject, another petty manifestation of the prescriptive spirit cherished in certain quarters against the *Era*, may be noticed. According to usage, the Washington City papers are subscribed for under the direction of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library, and placed in the Library of Congress. The *Era* has been established in this city for two years. Its permanent circulation is over twelve thousand copies a week. Some of the best minds in the country contribute to its columns. It has never been charged with a want of candor or courtesy by any of its numerous Southern exchanges, which represent the system to which it is opposed. It is the only journal in Washington representing the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the country. It has always its determined organ in the *Union*; Conservatism, in the *Intelligencer*; "Free Democracy," in the *Era*.

The Washington papers, with one exception, we believe, may be found in the Library of Congress, paid for, as we understand it, by the whole people of the Union. That exception is, the *Era*; the shuffling gentlemen, who constitute the majority of the Library Committee, refuse to allow it a place in the Library. The Committee is composed, as follows:

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Should this Committee hereafter happen to contain a majority of the friends of liberal opinions, we should feel ashamed of them, could they for a moment entertain the idea of excluding the Washington *Union* from the Library of Congress, on the ground of its pro-slavery opinions. Let this small policy be confined to the country. Let gentlemen who imagine that, by offering an indignity to a free press, they can extinguish its power—that, by turning their backs with sublime contempt upon the sun, they can prevent its shining.

THE LAST RESORT.

The resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, on the subject of the Wilcox Provision are more recent than any other legislative resolutions adopted in the South. The Calhoun series introduced in the Legislature of North Carolina was killed in joint committee, and a substitute proposed and passed, strongly affirming opinions, but not looking to resistance in any shape or form. The Virginia resolutions threaten, but do not commit the State to conflict with the Federal Government. They affirm that it will be the duty of the citizens of every slaveholding State, to resist the Wilcox Provision, "to take firm, united, and concerted action in the emergency;" but what that action should be is not defined; they affirm that, should the Federal Government adopt and attempt to enforce the Provision, "the people of Virginia can have no difficulty in choosing between the one alternative that will then remain, of object submission to aggression and outrage on the one hand, and to the last extremity;" and they also request the Governor, in such a contingency, to convene the Legislature, "to consider the mode and measures of redress."

This, then, is the attitude in which these resolutions present Virginia. The two Territories in dispute are now free, by the admission of all—free from slavery by the laws of the Republic from which they were rescued. Mr. Polk, Mr. Buchanan, and other orthodox authorities, teach that slavery cannot, in all probability, take root in them. Slaveholding authorities of distinction declare that slavery cannot exist therein, except by positive law, and this, the United States, is not demanded by Congress. In the face of all this, Virginia, through her Legislature, announces her purpose to wage war against the General Government, should it adopt and attempt to enforce the policy of maintaining the existing legal and natural condition of these Territories. That is the position in which this venerable Commonwealth is placed by her Legislature, unless, indeed, the resolutions were intended as a mere menace.

Let us see how the movement must proceed. The Wilcox Provision passes both branches of Congress, but the last act of Mr. Polk is to veto it. The thunder of Virginia's Legislature is not conveyed; the Union enjoys a respite. The next Congress takes the subject, passes the Provision, and General Taylor sanctions it. What next? The Governor of Virginia issues his proclamation—the time for resisting the General Government all hands, and to the last extremity, has come—the Legislature meets to consider of the mode and measure of redress. What will it do? Pass an act of non-intercourse with the rest of the Union? Perhaps General Taylor might have friends enough in the Legislature to prevent that measure; and, as he is a Southern man, and somewhat largely concerned in slaves, Virginia might find poor backing among her sister States. What could the wise men do? Resist their resolutions? That were easy. But how could they resist an act to take effect on the Pacific coast? Muster their militia and send them to Washington to deplete Old Rough and Ready, and dissolve Congress? Or dispatch a few select volunteer companies overseas, across the everlasting deserts and snows, to plant slavery very far in the valley of the Sacramento? Very far from much faith in General Taylor as a civilian, but when any fighting is to be done, he is there. He will either veto the Wilcox Provision or sanction it. If he vetoes it, Virginia might as well spare her futilities. If he sanctions it, he is the very man to enforce it against all factions. Virginia could not unite within herself, or rally the Southern States in resistance. There is not a man of common sense in her bosom who does not know this.

The *London Chronicle*, a Taylor paper, published at Leesburg, Virginia, says that the citizens were never more tranquil than they are now.

"We deeply regret," it continues, "the temper exhibited by some very worthy and respectable citizens, who, in the Legislature, are disposed to attribute to them no very evil purpose, we still deplore the motive that actuates them. They exhibit an undue amount of 'fire and furore' in their proceedings, which we deem a perfect prototype of the 'fire and furore' intended more particularly for Buncombe." The truth is, South Carolina and Virginia have an unfortunate way of their own of waging a cruel, bloody, and destructive war upon the rest of creation; yet they discover no surprise when their phantom enemies pick up their heads, resolute to turn to their shoulders, and look as formidable as ever! These States have so often dissolved the Union, that it can now surely be nothing but a conglomeration of men; they have so often refused to the last resort, that one may reasonably suppose they have no other left; and the mode and measure of redress have been turned over so often, that the mode is no longer a mode, the measure no longer a measure, and the redress itself but a dilapidated and threadbare garment. We must alter our style and fashion of doing things a little. The power of Virginia, the noble spirit of her sons, her honor, will not be gained. But there are as good as she in the Union, and they are so many that she cannot even touch them. The power of Congress, under the Constitution, to make all useful laws and regulations for the Territories, is, we humbly believe, palpable; yet, under the pretense of our Government, the power is exercised without reference to the will of the people of those Territories. The power of Congress to do all needful legislation for the District of Columbia is admitted by all; yet it is universally admitted that regulations to which the people of that District are averse, would be tyrannical. As a constituent member of the Union, Virginia may dissent from a wrong course of action in either of these cases; but she cannot rationally hope to control the action. It is becoming in us to be watchful, and to guard our rights by every means consistent with honor and patriotism; but it is unseemly, unprofitable, and pernicious, to anticipate the acts of Congress as enemies, and to declare that we will resist them 'at every hazard.'

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The Washington papers, with one exception, we believe, may be found in the Library of Congress, paid for, as we understand it, by the whole people of the Union. That exception is, the *Era*; the shuffling gentlemen, who constitute the majority of the Library Committee, refuse to allow it a place in the Library. The Committee is composed, as follows:

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might be deemed necessary to the success of a system of low postage, no objection could be raised on the ground of its injustice. The moment, however, it could be shown that a uniform rate of half a cent on all newspapers would answer the same purpose, the discrimination should be removed, and all be placed on an equal footing. The claim that the Government should adopt the policy of discrimination, for the purpose of encouraging papers of a limited circulation, giving them an advantage over those of a more extensive circulation, is absurd. What right has the Government to adopt a system of favoritism? As a party interested, we have no objection that our paper should be charged twice as much postage as other papers with a limited circulation, so long as such a discrimination may be necessary to

practicable, prohibiting the slave trade in said

He had voted against this resolution of the gentleman from New York, for the reason, first, that it assumed that the "traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic in human beings as chattels, is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system." He did not recognize that as being true. He contended that slaves were property, and so recognized by the Federal Constitution, and so recognized by the States. He considered that the Supreme Court of the United States, in

the case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, had solemnly and deliberately decided in accordance with the view taken by him.

He read the next clause of the resolution: "and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom," and said, if he wanted to do anything else than agitate the question of slavery for political purposes, he would seek to do it by

The men of the South (said Mr. T.) are not responsible for slavery; it was theirs, but they could not help it. It was fixed upon them, evil as it was, against the earnest remonstrance, against the earnest entreaty of our fathers. It was there; let them get rid of it according to the promptings of their own judgment, in the best way they could; and when they here, in this Hall dedicated to national legislation, talked about an institution which existed in one part of this Union under the law of the sovereign States, they had no right to do more than say, "It is against the spirit of the age, and against the

This resolution asserted that slavery, as it existed in the United States, was "a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty throughout the earth." Well, he could not, for the life of him, imagine what sort of an abstraction that was; but it was not true. He did not believe—evil though he agreed the institution of

slavery was—that the slavery of the African race had ever kept the Anglo-Saxon, or any other white race from freedom in any degree whatever. He did not believe it. Historically, it was not true. The fact of the institution of slavery existing in the colonies of the United States

impede the progress of our fathers in their establishment of a republican Government. But it was true that those countries where vice and immorality and superstition and ignorance prevailed to the greatest extent—as for example, Mexico, and he believed a number of the South American republics—recognised no such thing as the institution of slavery. The question of slavery was not one to be viewed in this light; it was a question

between the immediate personal interest of the slaveholder and the slave, and he did not now expect to discuss the question, as to whether slavery might or might not have been an evil to the black race. If the colonization scheme, or any other scheme which might be devised by the ingenuity and benevolence of man for planting the African race on its native shores, should be instrumental in building up a republican form of Government there, and establishing the freedom of that country, he would leave it for the moralist of after days to

He was inclined to think that a very large proportion, if not a very large majority of the negroes of the South were quite as well off, if not better off, in bondage, as far as physical comforts were concerned, than they would be if they were free. In support of the latter position, he referred to

the Legislature of his own State with reference to free negroes. The law in Indiana was such that no such negro could live there without giving security—without which they were in fact outlawed. He believed that political Abolitionism had never found a foothold in his neighboring State of Illinois, and he believed it never would in any of the Northern or Western States.

As respected the institution of slavery in the Territories, which we had acquired by our war

with Mexico, he did not propose to discuss this question, any more than to say, that if it had not been for that same violation of law to which he had referred—if it had not been for this disregard of constitutional checks and balances to which the Abolition party owed its political existence, we should have had no Mexican war and no Mexican territory. But we had got it; and before we would endanger the Union of these States by the determination of any question which might arise on the settlement of the territory.

North and the South, in reference to New Mexico and California, he would vote deliberately in his place to give it all back, gold, mines and all. He thought that there was no necessity in hurrying legislation, with respect to organizing Territories, Governments over that Territory. He believed that gentlemen from all sections had better get cool before they undertook to act upon the question.

Mr. Nicoll next addressed the Committee in

After some remarks upon amendments submitted to the bill, the Committee rose, and The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1849.

SENATE.

Nothing of general interest transpired in the Senate, the day being consumed in the consideration of a private bill and Executive business.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House were engaged during the entire session in the consideration of private bills, of which sixty-two were passed.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1849.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

No business of general interest was transacted

to being subject; but he preferred to those

 MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1849.

 SENATE.
 Mr. Cameron presented a petition, numerously signed by citizens of Pennsylvania, praying such an amendment of the Constitution and laws of the United States as will bring about the abolition of negro slavery throughout the Union, the motion to receive which was laid on the table.
 Mr. Douglas, from the select committee to whom

was referred the bill for the admission of California, as a State, into the Union, together with the several amendments to the same, reported a new bill, providing for the admission of the States of California and New Mexico; which was read.

The bill of last session, making a certain grant of land to Asa Whitney; to aid in the construction of a railroad to Oregon, was taken up, on motion of Mr. Niles, and, after some conversation, and the submittal of amendments, was passed over informally.

The bill to make compensation for the transportation of troops and stores of the United States, by railroad, across the isthmus of Panama, was also taken up, and after the presentation of amendments, was laid aside for the purpose of taking up the Indian appropriation bill, the discussion of which occupied the Senate until the hour of adjournment.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

After transacting some other business, the House adjourned until the 11th inst.

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respect to

Niles,

proceeded to the consideration of the West Point Academy appropriation bill.

Mr. Beale, of Virginia, addressed the committee in respect to the constitutional power of Congress over the subject of slavery. Looking to the Constitution alone, he was disposed to deny *in toto* the rightful exercise of any jurisdiction by the General Government for the purpose of establishing local Governments for the people of a Territory. He was willing to concede to Con-

gress the right to extend over all the Territories belonging to the People of the United States that jurisdiction which it could rightfully exercise within the States themselves. He did not concede to the people of a Territory sovereignty; but he believed that it was most consistent with the theory of our system of Government to permit them to establish Governments and regulate their municipal concerns—the laws which might be passed by these Governments to be in subjection to the compromises of the Constitution, and

to the rights of the People of the several States of which the Confederacy was composed.

Mr. Beale then proceeded to take up and reply to several distinct points made by Messrs. Smart, and Thompson of Indiana, in their remarks made last week.

Mr. B's hour having expired, the Committee proceeded to debate and vote upon several amendments to the bill, which were disposed of, and the bill was laid aside to be reported to the House.

The Revolutionary and Navy Pension appro-

priation bills were then considered; after which, the Committee rose, the three bills mentioned were severally passed, and the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1849.

SENATE.

After the consideration of the usual morning business, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill authorizing certain encouragement to Messrs. Aspinwall & Co. of New York, in the

The House, after the reception of reports, &c., resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; the Territorial bills had been made a special order for this day; and the Naval Appropriation bill, being a prior order, took precedence. This bill was taken up, and

country various speeches were made. Charles Brown, of Pennsylvania, occupied his hour in a discussion of the subject of slavery, denouncing the North and all anti-slavery movements.

Mr. Strong, of Pennsylvania, spoke on the merits of the bill itself.

This image shows a blank, aged, light brown page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a textured appearance with visible creases, discoloration, and a dark binding edge on the right. There is no text or other markings on the page.

